

Message Text

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E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: PINT, IT

SUBJECT: L'UNITA CONTINUES JACOVIELLO CONTROVERSY ON RIGHT OF
DISSENT

REF: ROME 15359 (NOTAL)

1. JACOVIELLO CONTINUES TO BE A PROBLEM FOR THE PCI. PERHAPS
BECAUSE OF THE PRESSURES CREATED BY NON-COMMUNIST PRESS ATTENTION
TO THE ISSUE AND JACOVIELLO'S APPARENT OWN INTEREST IN CONTINUING
THE DISPUTE. UNITA PUBLISHED ON SEPTEMBER 29 AND ARTICLE BY
JACOVIELLO RESTATING HIS VIEWS (ALBEIT IN TONED-DOWN TERMS).
JACOVIELLO'S ARTICLE WAS FLANKED BY A REPLY WRITTEN BY UNITA'S
EDITOR, LUCA PAVOLINI. BOTH DEALT WITH THE TWO BASIC ISSUES: THE
PCI'S AUTONOMY FROM THE USSR AND ITS ABILITY TO TOLERATE DISSENT.

2. JACOVIELLO ENGAGED IN CONSIDERABLE MENTAL GYMNASTICS IN
ARGUING THAT THE PCI HAS MUCH TO LEARN FROM CHINA AS IT IS THE
ONLY FORM OF COMMUNISM WHICH REMAINED IMMUNE FROM ALL TRACES OF
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RESIDUAL STALINISM THROUGHOUT ITS DEVELOPMENT. HE CHARGED THAT
STALINIST MENTALITY AND ABUSES HAVE NOT BEEN COMPLETELY ERRADICATED

"EVERYWHERE IN THE MOVEMENT." THE PCI SHOULD FIND A WAY TO CONNECT ITS DRIVE FOR GREATER AUTONOMY FROM THE USSR WITH EFFORTS TO ESTABLISH CONTACTS WITH THE CHINESE "WITHOUT IMPLYING EITHER A BREAK WITH MOSCOW OR ACCEPTANCE OF PEKING'S VIEWS". JACOVIELLO CONCLUDED BY UPHOLDING THE IMPORTANCE OF CONTINUING A VIGOROUS INTERNAL DEBATE ON CHINA AND, BY IMPLICATION, ON OTHER ISSUES.

3. IN HIS REPLY, PAVOLINI QUESTIONED JACOVIELLO'S CHARACTERIZATION OF THE CHINESE PARTY AS "DEMOCRATIC," CITING NUMEROUS EXAMPLES OF CHINESE PARTY DISSIDENTS (TENG HSIAO-PING, LIN PIAO) WHOSE VIEWS ARE BARELY KNOWN AND WHO HARDLY ENJOYED "THE RIGHT OF SPEECH". HE ALSO RECALLED MANY INCIDENTS OF CHINESE HOSTILITY TOWARD THE PCI (THE LATEST BEING THE CHINESE AMBASSADOR'S ATTENDANCE AT FANFANI'S EULOGY OF MAO AT THE RECONVENING OF THE SENATE SEPT. 28 IN MARKED AND EMBARRASSING CONTRAST TO THE CONSPICUOUS ABSENCE OF THE CHINESE AT THE CHAMBER OF DEPUTIES WHERE THE PCI'S INGRAO SIMULTANEOUSLY COMMEMORATED MAO'S PASSING).

4. PAVOLINI THEN COUNTERED JACOVIELLO'S ARGUMENTS DIRECTLY: THE PCI'S AUTONOMOUS LINE CAN BE "NEITHER MEASURED NOR GUARANTEED" BY ITS ATTITUDE TOWARD CHINA. WHILE MISUNDERSTANDINGS WITH PEKING CAN BE OVERCOME, RELATIONS CANNOT BE RENEWED "UNILATERALLY" AS DEMANDED BY JACOVIELLO. "EVEN LESS," PAVOLINI SAID, CAN RELATIONS WITH CHINA BE FOSTERED "BY BREAKING WITH OTHER COUNTRIES AND OTHER PARTIES" WITH WHOM THE PCI MAINTAINS AND INTENDS TO MAINTAIN "FRIENDLY RELATIONS" OF ITS OWN FREE CHOICE.

5. COMING TO THE HEART OF THE MATTER, PAVOLINI DISCOUNTED THE IDEA THAT JACOVIELLO DIFFERENCES ON CHINA WERE THE REAL ISSUE. STATING THAT HE DID NOT WISH TO ADDRESS THE QUESTION OF THE CORRECTNESS OF A PCI JOURNALIST "EXPRESSING VIEWS ON RADIO AND TELEVISION WHICH ARE AT BASIC VARIANCE WITH THE POLICY OF HIS OWN PAPER". PAVOLINI SAID JACOVIELLO ERRED BECAUSE HE HAD NO NEED TO TAKE HIS DISSENT OUTSIDE THE PARTY. HE DIDN'T TAKE ADVANTAGE OF THE AMPLE POSSIBILITIES FOR INTERNAL DISCUSSION" THAT EXISTED IN THE PCI'S BOSOM. COMMENT: EVEN THE LEFTIST PAPER LA REPUBBLICA CONSIDERED PAVOLINI'S ARGUMENTS ON FREE EXPRESSION WITHIN THE PARTY AS WEAK. IT NOTED THAT JACOVIELLO HAD AFTERALL NOT BEEN PERMITTED TO WRITE A WORD ON CHINA IN L'UNITA SINCE HE WAS REPRIMANDED FOR LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
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PUBLISHING AN AUTHORIZED BOOK ON MAO IN 1971.

6. THE PUBLICATION OF THE ARTICLES IN L'UNITA AND PAVOLINI'S RESTRAINT IN MENTIONING POSSIBLE DISCIPLINARY ACTION, INDICATE THAT THE PCI HAS NOT YET DECIDED HOW TO HANDLE THE JACOVIELLO CASE. IT IS OBVIOUSLY MINDFUL OF ITS PUBLIC IMAGE, BUT ALSO TROUBLED BY SEEMINGLY CONDONING A BLATENT CASE OF INDISCIPLINE. END COMMENT.
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